1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

Marias, and paid several shorter visits to the fringes of their hills; since 1931 I have three times revisited Bastar, seeing some Marias each time, and spending March 1934 in revisiting the Abujhmar hills villages seen in my 1929-31 tours, and the Bison-horn Maria villages above and below the Aranpur pass. I had similarly often toured before across the Bison-horn Maria country, and made many friends among the villages around the Bailadila hills, which, in return for a reduced assessment of land revenue, had the duty of sending relays of men up to the hills during the summer recess there of the Ruling Chief and leading State officials.

Notes and Queries on Anthropology, published by the Royal Anthropological Institute, was of constant value, even though, as explained in Chapter XIII, the poor memories of the Marias prevented me from getting the results expected from the geneological method. My work made it impossible for me to be in Maria villages at all seasons and to see all Maria ceremonies, and therefore I supplemented my enquiries by getting detailed reports from selected State officials whom I tried to train roughly for this by taking them with me during my personal enquiries on tour. I have almost always checked their reports by personal investigation; and in the few cases where I could not so check them, I have repeated nothing reported by them unless it was confirmed by the independent reports of two or more other reliable observers. These enquiries did impose much extra work on them, but gave them a much-needed knowledge of the aboriginal and did much to raise the morale and co-operation of the enquirers and to raise the standard of the administration. I could not have had a happier and friendlier family of colleagues than those of all ranks who served under me my last two years in the State. All were helpful, but especially Pandit Ghasiram Dane, then a subdivisional officer, the late Mr. H. N. Dutt, then tahsildar of Dantewara, since a victim of black-water fever, Mr. Niranjan Singh, then tahsildar of Bijapur and manager of Kutru, now Assistant Administrator, Mr. Sant Prasad, formerly tahsildar of Konta, Circle Inspector Manbahal Singh of the State Police, and Mr. Dikshitulu of the State Medical Service, who did remarkable anti-yaws work in the Abujhmar hills in my second tour and in later independent tours.

Language was always a difficulty. Halbi is the *lingua franca* of Bastar. The differences between Maria dialects are great, and the very guttural hill dialect is so unintelligible to the Bison-horn Marias that at their rare meetings they communicate with Hill Marias through those of them who understand Halbi. And there are many variations of both the Hill and the Bison-horn Maria dialects. Of Halbi, everyone serving in Bastar must acquire some

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understanding. Of Gondi as spoken in the plateaux of the Central Provinces I had a smattering, but the Maria dialects were as different from it as Spanish and Portuguese from Italian, and the Hill Maria gutturals are beyond the compass of an English voice. Yet one cannot but acquire a considerable vocabulary and power of following the gist of a speech from constant hearing of witnesses in court and association with tribesmen in village and camp; and thus, though never able to dispense with an interpreter, I could check his interpretation of replies, and see that he put my questions in my own way, and not in a leading form. Nothing needs more care than the training of interpreters. I am especially grateful for the help, as interpreter and as enquirer, of the late Circle Inspector Chaitan Singh, of the State Police, a Bastar Rajput with all the traditional virtues of the Rajput. Descended from an ancestor who had once narrowly escaped being sacrificed as a Meriah victim in Jeypore (Orissa), he was passionately interested in the aboriginal, knew all the '36' languages of Bastar, was a mine of information about Bastar customs, religions, songs, dances and games, and was, because he never did an injustice but was simple and reliable in all his ways, loved by the wild tribes of Bastar. His sense of humour, broad like that of the tribesmen, of whom at heart he was one, would overcome disappointment or the short temper bred of heat and exhaustion in gales of laughter; nor was it a respecter of persons, for his tales would chide the follies alike of raja or ryot, political agent or diwan. His sudden death soon after I left Bastar meant the loss of a dear friend, and of an Indian of a type more fitted to a past age but unlikely to be bettered in any succeeding generation. They say that in the forests around Kondagaon, where he shot so many man-eating tigers and organized so many successful tiger beats, the Murias already revere him as Chaitan Deo, a god of good hunting without whose favour no beat will yield game. Nothing could have appealed more to his sense of humour. Wherever he may be, may he have boon companions to laugh at his rhymes and tales, to drink from his silver glass, to take betel from his silver box, and to handle the hunting-knife and the silver-mounted cane given him by successive Governors, and may he live long in the folk memories of Bastar!

For other help I must thank Mr. K. L. B. Hamilton, C.I.E., I.C.S., Political Agent for the Central Provinces States when I went to Bastar, who has also kindly allowed me to reproduce some of his Bastar photographs; Mr. D. R. Rutnam, I.C.S., my successor as Administrator, who was my host in Bastar twice in 1932 and greatly facilitated my 1934 tour in various ways; Dr. W. P. S. Mitchell, M.B.E., for more than twenty years Chief Medical Officer

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and Parja, and it is therefore easy first of all to describe their distribution; only the briefest of general remarks will be made about them; I hope at a later date to publish a separate account, at least of the Parjas.

In the ethnographic map on page 40 the Bhattras are shown by the letter A and the Parjas by the letter B. The former alone among the races of Bastar have abandoned whatever Munda or Dravidian tongue they may have once spoken, and now use a corrupt Uriya dialect. In Bastar, except for one or two villages at the south-east corner of the Kondagaon tahsil, the Bhattras are confined to the north-east corner of Jagdalpur, along the Jeypore border, across which they overflow in large numbers into Jeypore and, beyond, Kalahandi State. Their Bastar number in 1891 was 21,477. The use of their language is spreading to other tribes, chiefly the Parjas; it was spoken by 45,830 persons in 1931, which means that 9,219 non-Bhattras speak it. The spread of its use among the Parjas is shown by the fact that only 12,363 Parji-speakers were returned out of 17,568 Parjas. Actually, as Sir George Grierson has admitted, Bhattri might as well be classified as one of the many forms of Halbi as a dialect of Uriya; to the outward ear they sound very similar, and the two languages are mutually intelligible. Halbi always varies according to its proximity to Chhattisgarhi, Telugu or Gondi; and to me Bhattri seems only Halbi influenced by its proximity to Uriya-speaking tracts. Nor are local census enumerators by any means to be relied upon effectively to distinguish Halbi and Bhattri. Grierson's remark of Gondi dialects that the names indicate tribal rather than linguistic differences is true of Halbi and Bhattri at all events.

Bhattras and Parjas

The Bhattras live in open country with miles of good rice cultivation. They are gradually giving up even their very modified form of *dahya* or shifting cultivation, consisting now mainly of the occasional cutting and carting to their rice fields of forest undergrowth, and burning it there as manure. All but twenty-six of them were returned in 1931 as following their tribal religion; and this is really the correct account, though they are considerably more Hinduized than any other tribe classed as primitive in 1931 except the Halbas. The latter, whose religion preserves only slightly less of the tribal element than the Bhattra, are, however, in contrast, all but thirty-six recorded as Hindu. No anthropometric work has been done among the Bastar Bhattras; and there are no data for accepting or rejecting on physical grounds the Central Provinces habit of classifying them as a branch of the Gond race. Traditionally they came with the first Raja of Bastar from Warangal, while over

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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582 hand some Hill Marias say that there is no theoretic obstacle to intermarriage, but that actually 'it isn't done', though they occasionally take part in each other's festivals. The Bison-horn 177 style of dancing with long *dol* drums is gradually spreading among 535 the lower villages just north of the Indrawati. Hudala Karka, for example, some eight miles from Barsur and on the northern bank of the river, now dances entirely in Bison-horn style, and claims to be a Bison-horn village, the claim being admitted by the Bison-horn Maria *pargana* headman in theory, and in practice by intermarriage with undoubted Bison-horn villages; but in several houses I found old Hill Maria dancing shields (*moghi*) and buttock-bells, and the older men admitted that when they were young they 177 danced in the Hill Maria style. Another sign of this is that Hurra [176] Gunda, the log-god of the Tamo clan at Tumirgunda, near Hudala Karka, is also the log-god of the Atami clan of Hudala Karka and of two other Atami villages south of the Indrawati. The clan-priest of the god is a Tamo, and the Tamo villages of Tumirgunda and Padmeta still dance in Hill Maria style. In a few years, therefore, the Bison-horn Marias will have adopted the valley villages north of the Indrawati; the *pargana* headman already virtually claims them as such, since they are under his direct jurisdiction and not that of the Hill Maria *chalki* or assistant appointed to help him [197] manage the eight Hill Maria villages of his *pargana*. In speech, too, they are approximating more and more to the Bison-horn Marias, as there is a marked absence of the harsh guttural sounds so characteristic of the Hill Maria language, and they use the Bison-horn technical social and religious terms.

101 Westward along the valley, as observed above, Bison-horn 177 Maria influence gets less. For a few miles, roughly from Nelasnar to Jegur on the Matawara-Kutru road, and in the village of Ketulnar beyond Jegur, the people are now known as Murias but are really Hill Maria stock, and still dance in Hill Maria style. Ketulnar still intermarries with the hill villages of the Kutru Mar *pargana*. The villagers of Bheriabhum, on the south bank opposite their former village of Pali, five or six miles north of Bhairamgarh, are of the Hill Farsal clan, and cannot be distinguished from Farsalor of the hills. In the hill villages above the valley I verified occasional marriages with girls from the valley villages and vice versa.

101 The tract west and south-west of Kutru, marked by the letter L on the ethnographic map, contains a very scanty population, which appears to be Hill Maria in origin, much modified by contact with the Telugu-influenced Dorla Koitor from the south, who are shown by the letter K. These mixed elements also were returned

[See cat. 116, p. 418. - Analyst]

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APPENDIX VI

LANGUAGE

IN Volume IV of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Maria is somewhat briefly discussed and considered to be a mere local dialect of Gondi, 'almost identical with the ordinary Gondi of the district'. The only authority on the language mentioned in the *Survey* is Glasfurd's *Report on the Dependency of Bastar* (Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. XXXIX, Calcutta, 1863); Appendix II of the report contains a 'Maria' vocabulary. But as Glasfurd called the Hill Maria 'Maree', his vocabulary obviously was not collected in the Abujhmar hills, but probably among the Bison-horn Marias of Dantewara and Bijapur tahsils. The specimen printed in the survey seems to me to be one from the Bison-horn Maria country, while the sketch of the Maria dialect at pp. 532-3 of Vol. IV of the *Linguistic Survey* deals obviously with the Bison-horn Maria dialect. In fact, I do not think that it has before anywhere been stated that there is a marked difference between the two dialects, so marked, indeed, that, as I have observed before, a Hill Maria and a Bison-horn Maria cannot understand each other's mother-tongue and have to communicate in Halbi. I am not qualified to speak in any detail of the differences between the two dialects. A collection of words will often show very marked similarities or identities, but the same word will often be very differently pronounced by a Hill and by a Bison-horn Maria. Inflexions are different, those of the Hill Maria being more similar to those used by the Gond of the plateaux of the Central Provinces, though much gutturalized, while those of the Bison-horn Marias are, presumably, influenced by Telugu contacts. And in general towards the north of Bastar the Hill Maria and the Muria indent on Hindi for words wanting in their mother-tongue, while the farther south you go the more you find the Bison-horn Maria indenting upon Telugu, though he also draws considerably on Halbi. The Bison-horn Maria's speech seems far more guttural than standard Central Provinces Gondi, but even he is amazed at the difficulty of the Hill Maria gutturals, and always compares Hill Maria speech to that of crows.

The volume of transcriptions and translations of Gramophone Records of Languages and Dialects spoken in the Central Provinces and Berar, edited by the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal and published

1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
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197 It may be observed that in these specimens and in the *Linguistic Survey* records there is far less borrowing from Aryan languages than in the Gondi folk-tales, stories and songs printed in Volume II 192 of Trench's *Grammar*. In my specimens there are two corruptions of English words which have become current through excise and police practice respectively, *bōtēl* (bottle) and *rapōṭ* (report). Fairly recent Hindi or Halbi borrowings (as distinct from long acclimatized words of Sanskrit origin like *mīn* (fish), *ṿijjā* (seed) or *bēsh* (good)) found in my specimens are *ḍōkrā* (old man), *ḍōkrī* (old woman), *dinām* and *dināl* (daily), *kabāṛ* (work), *khush* (pleased), *tiyār* (ready), *bichār* (thought), *milē-māsī* (together), *sarkār* (authorities), *lagē* (fastened), and *rāzī* (contented).

126 I have not collected any specimens of Bison-horn Maria language, nor have I the qualifications to attempt any sketch of the grammars of the two dialects. The Hill Maria specimens that follow were recorded under my supervision by Sampat Singh, my interpreter, in the villages of Orcha and Hikul in the Abujhmar hills in March 1934, the records being corrected with the aid of the Hill Marias in my camp.

Two Stories, from Hikul Village

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I. The Monkey Son-in-law

Unḍ nāgā mattā. Ḍōkrī- mu'ittā mattā, ōrā unḍ miyār
One village was. Old-woman-old-woman was, hers a daughter

mattā. Ad pīkī layā mattā. Ḍōkrī- mu'ittā ad pīkī-tun
was. That girl maiden was. Old-woman-old-woman that girl

bōn-kē hēwā mattā. Unḍ mēṭā-tī unḍ kōwē ḍōkrī-mu'ittā-
anyone-to giving-not was. A mountain-from a monkey old-woman-

nagā pīkī-may^dē lām wātā. Ḍōkrī-mu'ittā
old-woman-to girl-for bride-servitor came. Old-woman-old-woman

kē^tā, 'Nimā bārā-kiyā wātōq, kōwā?' Kōwā ittoq, 'Illē,
said, 'You what-for have-come, monkey?' Monkey said, 'No,

māmō, bēnōrē lām tā^ṭtēq, nannā paṛī tūngānā-may^dē
father's-sister, anyone bride-servitor will-keep. I work doing-for

mandākān.' Ḍōkrī-mu'ittā bichār kitā, 'Māwā-iṛā paṛī kiyānōr bōgh
will-stay.' Old-woman thought-made, 'Me-with work doer anyone

illē; pīkīn-may^dē kōwā baranjā-tun tā^kān.' Injōr vāhātā,
not; girl-for monkey son-in-law-for I-will-keep.' Then she-said,

'Mākū paṛī kis, tihtānūr.' Kōwā-kn tāstōq. Kōwā vāhātōq,
'Me-for work do, I-will-feed.' Monkey she-kept. Monkey said,

'Māmā, nā-kū unḍ maqsu par-dīm; pēndā narkān.'
'Father-in-law, me-to an axe made-give; penda-clearing I-will-cut.'

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
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APPENDIX TWO

THE LANGUAGE OF THE MURIA

By A. N. Mitchell, O.B.E., I.C.S.

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Introductory

In the year 1940 when I was Administrator of Bastar, I began, at Dr Elwin's suggestion, a linguistic survey of the State. This survey was intended to be one of many subsidiary inquiries in connexion with the decennial Census, and it started from the assumption, which was then generally believed to be correct, that Bastar State was the home of a large number of different languages and dialects. It is still true to say that the number of languages spoken is remarkable in proportion to the area of the State, which is 13,725 square miles and may be roughly compared to that of Belgium. There is the official language, Hindi, and in the south of the State large numbers of people also speak Telugu. It is correct to say, however, that there are practically no people whose mother-tongue is Telugu, and very few with whom Hindi comes more easily than Halbi, which is probably the most commonly spoken language of all. This Halbi is in my opinion properly to be classified as a dialect of Marathi, but its vocabulary is a synthetic one of Gondi, Hindi, Oriya, and Marathi words.[1] It is not only the mother-tongue of the Halbas, who traditionally accompanied the first Raja of Bastar when he fled into the State from Warangal early in the fifteenth century, but also of a number of semi-aboriginal castes such as the Bhattra and Dhakar, all of whom mainly inhabit the east central portion of the northern plateau. In addition there are many thousands of Muria who no longer speak anything but Halbi, while a minority of Muria, Jhoria, Maria, and Dorla all over the State have learnt it as a second language. The Dhurwa, who are mainly found in the south-east of the Jagdalpur Tahsil and the extreme north of the Sukma Zamindari, have a distinct dialect of their own, which is, however, recognizably related to other Gondi dialects. Finally there are a few scattered villages of Gadaba, mainly in the Jagdalpur Tahsil, who speak their own language, which belongs not to the Dravidian group as Gondi does, but to the Kolarian group of which few examples are normally to be found south of the Mahanadi river.

2. With the exception of Halbi, all these languages between them account for only a small proportion of the total population of the State, which now stands at about 630,000. The most interesting fact which emerged from my linguistic survey was that in a great arc running from the north-east corner of the State westwards, southwards and finally south east, a dialect of Gondi is spoken, which is for practical purposes one and the same dialect whether it is spoken by Muria, Jhoria, Hill Maria, Bison-horn Maria, Koya, or Dorla. The number of speakers is probably about 300,000 out of a total population for the State of 630,000. For this reason and because the exigencies of service during war-time cut short my time in Bastar, I finally concentrated on this dialect, especially as spoken by the Bison-horn Maria, and produced a grammar thereof which was published at the Bastar State Press in 1942.

3. This amount of preliminary explanation is necessary before I proceed to give some account of the language of the Muria in order that two points may be made clear. The first is that the Maria language is essentially the same as that

[1] 'Halbi, says Grierson, 'can hardly be called a true dialect. It is a mechanical mixture of bad Marathi, bad Oriya and bad Chhattisgarhi, which varies in the proportions of its constituents from place to place. On the whole Marathi inflexions form its most prominent feature'. It is the language of the Palace and used by clerks and others in Jagdalpur for polite correspondence. Its use has now spread widely throughout Bastar where over 170,000 persons returned it as their mother-tongue in 1931.

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of other Gond, or more properly Koitor, in Bastar State.[1] The second is that I have not been able to make as close a study of the language as spoken by the Muria as I have of that spoken by the Bison-horn and Hill Maria. This note should, therefore, not be taken as in any sense the last word on the subject, but rather as an illustrative introduction. One more reservation is necessary. I have mentioned above that many Muria can now only speak Halbi, and I would make this more clear by pointing out that no form of Gondi is now spoken in the areas enclosed on the north by the Makri river in Kondagaon Tahsil, on the west by the main road from Jagdalpur, and on the south by the Indrawati river from the eastern border of the State to the point where it is crossed at Jagdalpur by the main road. Even to the west of that road in an area about twenty miles in depth between Jagdalpur and Kondagaon the same remark applies. It is round this block that the arc to which I referred above is described.

4. This view of the essential unity of the dialect of Gondi spoken in Bastar State is not that which was held by Sir George Grierson in Volume IV of *The Linguistic Survey of India*. At page 532 thereof he stated that the Maria dialect of Bastar 'seems to be almost identical with the ordinary Gondi of the (Chanda) district'. On page 473 also he expressed the opinion that Maria does not differ so much from ordinary Gondi that it should be classed as a separate dialect. When referring to the Gondi spoken in the north of the State, that is, by the Muria and Jhoria, he came to the conclusion that this was the same as that spoken by their neighbours to the north and west in Kanker State and the Drug and Chanda Districts of the Central Provinces. I believe both these views to be incorrect, and to be based on incorrect material supplied to him by the Bastar State authorities at the time. Among other reasons for this belief of mine I would place first the undoubtedly erroneous geography from which Grierson started. A comparison of what Dr Elwin has written in this book of the distribution of the Muria and Jhoria, and of what Mr W. V. Grigson has written in his *Maria Gonds of Bastar* regarding the distribution of the Maria, with what Grierson has written on the same subject, for example, at page 529 of Volume IV, will serve to prove this fact. On many points of grammatical detail, also, his information was undoubtedly wrong. In giving examples I adhere to my view that Muria and Maria Gondi are for practical purposes the same language. Grierson, then, at page 528 of Volume IV refers to the existence of separate forms of the dative and accusative cases. There are no such separate forms. The personal terminations of verbs are not the same in Bastar as those mentioned by Grierson on pages 528-9 and 533. The personal pronouns mentioned on page 532 are not identical with those which he, erroneously, says are used in the Gondi of the north of the State. There is no negative infinitive as stated by him (p. 533). There is no passive voice, which he states to exist generally in Gondi (p. 482). On page 473 he has admitted the existence of typical southern features in the language spoken by the Muria when he mentions the use of initial 'l' for 'r' and 'h' for 's'. On the same page he speaks of the form *ana* = 'I' being used among Muria as among Gond elsewhere, but I have not heard anything but the form *nana*. His citation of the words *dana* or *danwa* meaning 'her' also appears incorrect. I have heard *tana* among Maria, but *dana* appears to be a simple transposition of consonants for *adna*, the genitive of *ad*. On page 528 again he speaks of a second person plural ending in *ir* which I have not heard. On page 529 he quotes a form *lohioh* = 'he sent', and *hitoh* for *hitor* = 'he did'. These are obvious mistakes in transliteration committed in an attempt to reproduce the guttural 'r' or uvular trill, a feature of the speech of Hill Maria in particular. They are not plural forms at all as he suggests. Similarly the form *himtu* = 'give' (imperative) seems to be a mistake of transcription for the universal form in Bastar *himut*. He gives the form *hayatona* = 'I die'

[1] One Muria, when asked to give an example of the difference between his language and Maria, said that for the imperative 'Come' Muria say *Daywara* while Maria say *Way*. The latter is, of course, the singular imperative from *wayana*, while *wara* is the plural imperative. *Daywara* means literally 'go come', an inverted form of the Hindi *Ā jao*. Not a very significant difference.

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which is not found in Bastar, where moreover the verb *dolitana* is used. He speaks of *ki* and *ku* as dative terminations 'confounded' with the accusative *in su*, whereas in my experience all three are interchangeable postpositions. He speaks of an ablative termination *agada*, which is rarely heard, and which is an instrumental postposition used by the Muria. He mentions plural terminations in 'ng' and 'r' as used by the Muria, and on page 532, speaking of the Maria dialect, he says that he has not found plurals in 'or' and 'ng' but that there is no reason for supposing that they are lacking. They are in fact almost entirely lacking both among Muria and Maria. On page 530 he speaks of separate plural forms for the second and third person of the various tenses of the verb. These do not exist, and I have not found the plural imperative termination in 'at', except in the negative imperative, nor the past negative tense, which he mentions.

5. Grierson's material can thus hardly be described as reliable, and it has led him into a curious position. On the basis of apparently wrong information he has linked the Gondi dialect of North Bastar with Gondi in general, and refuses to admit that it is a separate dialect at all. This seems to me incorrect. But his incorrect material being the same for the language spoken among the Muria, the Hill Maria, and the Bison-horn Maria, he has arrived at the correct conclusion from wrong premises that these three peoples, with the Jhoria, speak for practical purposes the same language. But it is not the statements alone in *The Linguistic Survey of India* which have led to a wrong conclusion. There are also omissions in the description of the Maria dialect of certain points which more clearly define its right to be described as an independent dialect. I would mention particularly the following. Nouns never inflect in oblique cases, and a variety of postpositions can all be used with the appropriate case, subject to no law except very rough standards of euphony. There is thus no ground for distinguishing declensions. There is no distinction between singular and plural in the second and third personal pronouns. In the conjugation of verbs, gender is only distinguished in the third person and then not always and number is only distinguished in the first person. There are other less striking points which tend to prove the same thing.

6. A final proof of the distinct entity of this common Bastar dialect can be found by looking further afield and comparing it in general with those dealt with by Lind[1] and Chenevix Trench.[2] From such a comparison it seems justifiable to conclude that there are at least three main dialects of Gondi at the present time. Trench has dealt with a dialect which appears to cover practically the whole of the central plateau of the Central Provinces. Lind has dealt with a dialect which appears to cover the whole of the southern portion of Chanda District, and probably (though I have no proof of this) extends into the Godavari Basin between Bastar State and the Nizam's Dominions. A modified form of this dialect, which is full of Telugu influences, appears to be spoken in the southern and western portions of Bastar State. The Bastar dialect is the third.

7. For historical and physical reasons there is nothing surprising in the independent existence and survival of this dialect. Lind has suggested, without giving reasons, that the Maria language, as he heard it, was the source of the various forms and dialects of Gondi all over the Central Provinces and Berar, but I have not been able to find any evidence for holding this view. Nor is it clear to me whether the Bastar dialect possesses in its grammar embryonic or vestigial forms. But the history of the country would justify the view that the dialect is very old, since it has had little or no contact with the outside world for centuries. Grierson, in Chapter VII of the *Imperial Gazetteer* (1907–9), has shown that it is not established whether the Dravidian languages entered India from the north-west where the Brahuis would therefore form the 'rear guard'; or whether they came from the south from the hypothetical 'Lemurian Continent'. Anthropology does not seem to have solved this problem during the past 30 years. But in either case the geographically central position of the Bastar dialect among Dravidian languages might give grounds for thinking that it constitutes an isolated survival

[1] A. A. Lind, *A Manual of Mudia* (Mukti Mission Press, Kedgaon, 1913).
[2] C. G. C. Trench, *Grammar of Gondi* (Madras, 1919).

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of an ancient form of speech. The only certain fact, however, is the age-long isolation of the Maria and Muria, and on the whole I am inclined to deduce from this fact that the peculiar structure of their grammar is a development from archaic Gondi in the direction of extreme simplification.[1] An example of archaism is to be found in the very few indications of gender, and those on the principle that males of the human species are masculine, and the rest of creation neuter. The absence of declensions shows no crystallization of convention in respect of the use of postpositions, which both Lind and Trench have called case endings. Again, there are only scanty traces of plural forms. These are entirely confined to proper names of places and peoples. Thus, the Maria and Muria like other so-called Gond, refer to themselves as Koitor. Place names such as Kaklur and Chitalur probably illustrate the same termination, as does the clan name Tokalur among Maria. The third personal pronoun 'or' was probably originally an honorific plural. And the verbal noun of agency, e.g. *kwalor* = 'doer', is almost certainly a plural form, since Lind has found the singular form *kwal* in Chanda District. The paucity of these forms suggests that they are a survival, but there is no sign of any tendency to add any suffix to them to make a new distinct plural, such as the termination 'ork' found in other dialects. Finally, there is the exceedingly clumsy method of constructing conditional sentences, which seems to be a primitive feature of the language, while the absence of many grammatical forms found in the Gondi of Betul District shows the latter language to have developed from an archaic and primitive condition in the direction not perhaps of simplicity, but of greater flexibility than that found among Maria and Muria.

8. Grigson has described Bastar State as 'an almost unknown backwater of the river of Indian history'. The present ruling family is descended from the Kakatia kings of Warangal, of whom the last was killed in battle with Mohammedan invaders early in the fifteenth century. His brother fled across the Godavari into Bastar, and from his time until very recent years the country has been practically without history and almost without contact with the outside world. Before the fifteenth century it appears from inscriptions that a Telugu line of Nagwanshi kings ruled in the eleventh century at Barsur, which lies in the centre of the State in the Bison-horn Maria country, and whose ruined temples indicate that there was then an advanced Hindu civilization in that area. Grigson has shown that up to the time of the Mohammedan conquest of the Deccan there must have been much Telugu infiltration, of which many signs still remain; but since that time the country has been largely undisturbed. There can never have been much Telugu or other Hindu influence on the Hill Maria or Muria; and the eight centuries which have elapsed since there can have been any strong Telugu influence on the Bison-horn Maria have given ample time for independent development of dialect, free from the outside influences to which Gondi has been exposed elsewhere. To this day Bastar State continues to be a very isolated area. On the north and north-east borders there is a certain amount of traffic with the adjoining British Indian districts and the Kanker State and the Jeypore Zamindari, which has brought the influence of Chhattisgarhi speech to bear on the Muria, but even this does not affect the Bison-horn Maria, whose contact with other peoples on the east is confined to the least developed portions of the Jeypore Zamindari. On the west and south of the State there is still not much intercourse across the Godavari river with the Chanda District, the Nizam's Dominions, and the Madras Province, in all of which areas the people are, in any case, similar to their Bastar neighbours and act as a buffer between them and more developed peoples. Although communications have been greatly improved in recent years, more than 11,000 square miles of the State's total area of 13,725 square miles are under forest, so that communication even between one tribe and another is still a matter of some difficulty. That this must have been very much more so in the past is obvious. The Maria and Muria still lead a laborious life, mainly dependent for their existence on

[1] A similar tendency towards simplification of grammar is mentioned by Allan Crawford, in connexion with the English of the inhabitants of Tristan da Cunha in his book *I went to Tristan* (London, 1941), p. 137, 'They seldom use the past tense'.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
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shifting cultivation of various types and, except in certain areas where the Bison-horn and Hill Maria have exterminated all game, on hunting.

9. All these factors must have combined to produce physical conditions capable in turn of producing marked individual changes and development in their language. One such condition is illustrated by a well-substantiated theory advanced by the American ethnologist Horatio Hale, and quoted by Otto Jespersen.[1] Hale found that in Oregon, a region not much larger than France, at least thirty different families of languages exist. This he explained by the fact that, among the hunting tribes of America, in which single families frequently were separated from the main tribe, in a vast and largely uninhabited country, language was much influenced by children, who were either left much to themselves owing to their parents' preoccupation with agriculture and hunting, or were actually left alone as the result of disease or the casualties of a hunter's life. Or again, where the men either died or were killed, the women left behind had little time for domestic life, and the children were neglected not only in respect of their physical welfare but also in respect of the correctness of their speech. From these circumstances arose fundamental changes of language, whereby actual new families of languages came into existence among ethnologically cognate peoples. I do not suggest that such extreme circumstances have ever been present among the tribes of Bastar, but they must have been present to some extent among the Bison-horn Maria and the Muria and to a greater extent among the small and isolated communities of the Maria of the Abujhmar Hills. The institution of the ghotul, where children of both sexes live together from an early age until marriage, separate from their parents for much of the day and the whole of the night, may also have led to great changes in the language. How important the influence of the ghotul has been it is not easy to judge, as the institution no longer exists among the Bison-horn and Hill Maria in the form in which it is now found among the Muria. But among the latter it is a fact, as Dr Elwin has discovered, that the children of the tribe have developed their own songs and stories and, to a very large extent, their own habits of conversation.

10. The foregoing arguments would explain the marked grammatical differences between the Bison-horn Maria and the Maria of the Bhopalpatnam Zamindari and of Chanda District as recorded by Lind. It would also explain the relative rarity of Hindi words in the Bastar dialect as a whole, while the earlier history of the race would explain the more numerous Sanskrit survivals and signs of Telugu influence; if indeed explanation of such features is necessary in view of the fact that Telugu and Gondi are closely related in the Dravidian family. It would also explain the differences of pronunciation which make it almost impossible for tribes who are fairly close neighbours to understand one another. For example, the speech of the Hill Maria is compared by the Bison-horn Maria to that of crows, owing to its numerous gutturals and glottal stops. One of these gutturals is the letter 'r' mentioned above, pronounced in the same way as a Frenchman pronounces the 'r' in Paris. Leonard Bloomfield calls this the 'uvular trill'.[2] The comparison with the speech of crows is reminiscent of Virgil's description of the young crows in their nests uttering *Pressae ter gutture voces*, which may be confirmation of the accurate observation of natural phenomena by the Bison-horn Maria. The Bison-horn Maria themselves speak in a guttural manner, the Muria less so; and another feature of the pronunciation of both is its extremely staccato nature. They almost invariably fail to pronounce initial 'h' and there is a tendency to interchange the cerebral and trilled 'r'. In other respects the pronunciation is very much as described by Trench for the Betul Gondi, initial 'e' being often preceded by a 'y' sound, and 'e' and 'o' being pronounced sometimes short and sometimes long. Orthography, is not, therefore, an easy matter. I adopted the Nagri script in my grammar as being adequate for the purpose, but the Telugu script, according to Grierson, is better suited to the language.

11. An outline of the grammar of this language follows. There is little to say about syntax, beyond what I have indicated therein, since its syntax is similar

[1] O. Jespersen, *Language*, pp. 180–8.

[2] Ibid., p. 470.

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
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197 to that of other Gondi dialects and of Hindi, of which the latter at least is widely known.

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193 *Nouns.* These are never inflected and there is no distinction of form between singular and plural. The oblique cases are indicated by postpositions. Genders are very rarely indicated and play little part in the grammar of the language, though they do exist in the minds of the speakers. They are two in number, masculine and feminine-neuter. The former includes only males of the human species and the latter covers the rest of creation, whether male, female or inanimate. The commonest postpositions are as follows:

tun, *hs*, or *nu*, indicate the accusative
nu, *na*, *ta*, or *nad* meaning 'of' (genitive)
tun or *hs* meaning 'to' (dative)
te or *tuna* meaning 'with' or 'from' (comitative and ablative)
de meaning 'with' (instrumental) is only used of things
te or *tage* meaning 'in' or 'on' (locative)

All these can be used with any noun, the choice of alternatives apparently being governed by considerations of euphony. For example *lon*, a house, usually takes those postpositions which begin with 't' and elides its final 'n'; thus, *lota* = of a house, *lote* = in a house, and so on. There is no justification for distinguishing declensions.

Adjectives. These also are inflected neither for number, gender nor case. The language is well supplied with simple and compound adjectives, but the primitive feature of the language is that simple adjectives sometimes have to be expressed in a compound form, e.g. *bata hilwa* = poor, its literal meaning being 'without anything'.

The verbal noun is sometimes used as an adjective in the same way as the passive past participle in other languages, e.g. *murcha*, shut, from *murchana*, to shut.

Comparison is normally expressed, as in other Indian languages, by using the positive form of the adjective followed by the postposition *tuna*, from. There is, however, a single interesting exception, *nsla*, 'good', having the comparative and superlative form *nslator*. Syntactically this is used as other adjectives are with *tuna*.

The superlative is expressed similarly to the comparative, as in Hindi with the use of the words *sabe mul*, 'all'; e.g. *sabe mul tuna porho*, 'last of all'.

Pronouns and Pronominal Adjectives. The only remarkable feature of these is that there is a distinct word for 'we', namely *momat*, usually shortened in conversation to *mst*. This is one of the very few plural forms in the language. *I* = *nana*, thou and you = *nima* and *or* = he, she, or they. Another interesting feature is that pronouns have inflected forms. *Nana* produces *na*, *nima* produces *ni*, *or* produces *on*, and *momat* produces *ma*.

Pronominal adjectives are distinct adjectives and not merely the genitives of pronouns, except in the case of *ona*, his. They are *nawa* or *na* = my, *niwa* or *ni* = yours, and *mawa* or *ma* = ours.

Numerals. Up to and including 6, the cardinal numbers are almost identical with those in Telugu. From 7 to 19 inclusive the Hindi numerals are used, after which comes *korsh*, 20. Beyond this the word *kori* = score, is used in combination with other numbers. This word is of wide distribution in Eastern India, being used in Oriya among other languages, but is probably Dravidian in origin. For 100 the Hindi word *sau* is frequently used, as in the Urdu word *hazar*, a thousand, to denote vaguely large numbers. An interesting feature of the numerals is that the word for 2 has a masculine form *iru* and a neuter form *rend* or *rend*. This is one of the few cases where gender is distinguished.

Ordinals are the same as cardinals with the sole exception of *onds*, first.

Frequency is expressed by the word *wela*, time, probably borrowed from Marathi, which is added to the cardinal number; and multiplicity is expressed in the same way.

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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our approach to the Gond problem—one of the cardinal problems of Deccan ethnology—unless we envisage the possibility that the tribes now known as Gonds, far from being the dispersed off-shoots of a once homogeneous people, attained a certain and very limited measure of cultural uniformity only when they came under the sway of the same dominant linguistic influence.

Gondi with its many local dialects is a Dravidian language of the so-called intermediate group, and stands, according to Grierson, closer to Tamil and Kanarese than to Telugu. But it seems highly improbable that the Dravidian tongues, which were no doubt associated with the representatives of the pre-Aryan high-civilizations of Southern India, should have been the original languages of tribal populations as primitive in racial and cultural make-up as the Hill Marias of Bastar and certain Koyas of Hyderabad. Just as such widely separated aboriginal tribes as the Chenchus of the Nallamallai Hills, the Hill Reddis of the Eastern Ghats and some, though not all, Naikpods and Kolams in the hills of Adilabad have adopted Telugu to the exclusion of any other tongue, without anyone considering Telugu as their original language[1] or claiming the present linguistic uniformity as proof of a genetic connection between all those tribes, so the peoples now speaking Gondi may, in times past, have abandoned older tribal tongues in favour of a Dravidian language spoken by neighbouring populations or the members of a ruling class. J. H. Hutton believes that by a similar process the Oraons of Chota Nagpur have adopted their present Dravidian tongue[2] in place of a Munda language, and I fully agree with his assumption that a large-scale Dravidianization of aboriginal tribes occurred partly previous and partly parallel to the Aryanization of which we are still witnesses.[3]

The idea that Dravidian Gondi represents a comparatively recent element in the linguistic pattern of the Central Indian belt has already been voiced by R. V. Russell, who put forward the theory of a Gond incursion into the Central Provinces from the south between the ninth and the thirteenth century A.D. This probably goes too far and is not supported by ethnological evidence; in solving the language problem it is not even necessary to assume a wholesale migration of all the Gond tribes from Dravidian lands south of the Godavari to the Central Provinces and the hill-tracts of Bastar. It is sufficient to postulate the invasion of a people limited in numbers but superior to the older tribal folks in organization and material equipment, and the subsequent spread of its Dravidian language and perhaps certain elements of its culture among the tribes previously speaking one or several older tongues. Indian history provides numerous examples of such an imposition of a foreign

1. In the case of Naikpods and Kolams an older tribal language is still spoken by other groups.
2. Oraon belongs to the same intermediate group as Gondi.
3. *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, p. 358.

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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language on aboriginal populations, and it seems more probable that such tribes as the Muria Gonds, with their close cultural and racial affinities to the Austroasiatic Gadabas of Orissa, were subject to a change of language than that they immigrated from distant parts of Southern India.

We are not yet in a position to surmise which population may have been responsible for the spread of Gondi or which pre-Dravidian languages Gondi may have replaced. Both questions will perhaps remain for ever unanswered, but linguistic research among the Gondi speaking peoples, the still entirely mysterious Khonds, and the neighbouring Austroasiatic tribes may still lead to surprising results. Since the days of Grierson's Linguistic Survey few trained linguists have done fieldwork among the tribal populations of Peninsular India, and the most admirable descriptive works of amateurs cannot compensate for the absence of comparative studies by experts.[1]

The replacement of an older language by one of more recent introduction, is an accomplished fact among many of the eastern and northern Gonds, who speak now the Chhattisgarhi dialect of Hindi and various other local dialects. But there can be no doubt that these Aryan languages were adopted from neighbouring Hindu populations instead of tribal tongues, and certain place-names are to-day the only evidence that the languages previously spoken were related to the Gondi spoken by other sections of the Gond family.

According to the Census of India the total number of Gonds in 1931[2] was 3,063,753. With their strong tribal consciousness they are the premier aboriginal race of India, exceeding by more than one million the number of Bhils and dwarfing such tribes as Oraons, Mundas, Hos and Santals.

The majority of Gonds—2,261,138 in 1931—are found in the Central Provinces and Berar, which contain practically all the territories known to the early Moghul writers as Gondwana. Except for Buldana in the extreme south-west, there is no district in the Central Provinces

1. The limited value of linguistic material contained in the writings of anthropologists is to none more obvious than to the authors; such texts, for instance, as given in this volume may facilitate the linguist's approach to an unwritten language, but they are insufficient as a basis for linguistic conclusions. For very relevant phonetic peculiarities may entirely escape the attention of the untrained observer, or defeat his attempts at recording them. In linguistics as in anthropology there is no substitute for field work. The dearth of authoritative works on the tribal languages of India was lamented by J. H. Hutton in his Census report: "There is, however, a serious void in our knowledge in that no intensive work appears to have been done on the tribal dialects of southern India, so that it is impossible to say whether the Munda languages ever penetrated to the extreme south of India or not. The linguistic survey unfortunately did not include southern India in its scope, and there is therefore a crying need for an intensive study of the dialects spoken by such tribes as the Kadar, Kurumans, Paliyans, Panians and Thanda Pulayans, with the object of discovering whether or no any Munda survivals are to be found." (Op. cit., p. 158). Hutton's call to linguists has, to my knowledge, remained largely unheeded. M. B. Emeneau who worked among the Todas being a laudable exception. But equally urgent as the study of the tribal dialects of South India is intensive work on the tribal language of the Central belt.

2. No later figures for individual tribes are available, the Census operations of 1941 having been curtailed for reasons of economy.

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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101 without a considerable Gond population, but the main strongholds of
162 the Gonds are to-day the Satpura plateau including the districts of Betul,
197 Chhindwara and Seoni, where the western type of Gondi is spoken,
Mandla and Chhattisgarh in the east, where the Gonds have adopted the local dialect of eastern Hindi but retained their tribal identity, and in the south Chanda and the neighbouring Yeotmal, where the language is Gondi, but of a dialect somewhat different from the Gondi of Betul.

101 To the north-west the Gonds extend across the Narbada River into
691 Central India, and are particularly numerous in Indore State; to the
197 east of the Central Provinces lie the states of Gond princes, such as
[619] Kawardha, Sakti, Raigarh and Sarangarh, to-day known as the Chhattisgarh States. Although neither these Gond rajas, nor indeed the Gonds among their subjects speak Gondi, they are fully conscious of their tribal associations and the high status of the ruling princes adds no doubt to tribal prestige in the whole of Chhattisgarh.

Further south, bordering on Chanda, Drug and Raipur, extend the two States of Kanker and Bastar, where Gonds constitute the majority of the population. Bastar in particular is the home of three important groups of Gonds: the Murias, the Hill Marias and the Bisonhorn Marias, all of which differ in language and custom very considerably from the Gonds of the Central Provinces.[1] Their colourful and complex cul-
[174] tures are representative of ancient aboriginal India and show obvious affinities with the Austroasiatic cultures of Orissa and Chota Nagpur. Bastar has also part in the Koyas or Dorlas of the Godavari area, the most southern branch of the Gond family occurring in considerable strength in Madras Presidency and Hyderabad State and stretching across the barrier of the Eastern Ghats into the vicinity of Rajahmundry. Most Koyas still speak a dialect of Gondi, but those surrounded by Telugu populations, have changed over to Telugu.

Another substantial group of Gonds, closely akin to the Gonds of Yeotmal and Chanda, is found in the hilly country between the Godavari and the Penganga Rivers constituting the Adilabad District of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, and it is these Gonds who form the subject of the present work.

101 All the Gonds of Adilabad, except for an insignificant overflow of
186 Dhurwe Gonds from Chanda, consider themselves Raj Gonds, and this brings us to the still somewhat problematic division between Raj Gonds and Dhur or Dhurwe Gonds, which runs through the greater part of the Gond population within the Central Provinces. There seems to be no uniformity in the principles ruling this division; in Chhattisgarh only the members of ruling or formerly ruling families are described as Raj Gond, while in other parts most of the land-holding Gonds aspire to this denomination. In recent times the name Raj Gond has also been
[648] claimed by certain Gonds who have tried to raise their social status by

1. The Hill Marias extend into the hills of the neighbouring Chanda District.

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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of a timid and resigned outlook in place of the manly spirit of old. Finally I propose to discuss the results of the more liberal policy towards the aboriginals which H.E.H. the Nizam's Government has pursued since 1944, and to outline the principles and the first stages of the Gond Education Scheme, which is designed to help the Gonds in the struggle for existence and to restore to them self-respect and pride in their own ancient culture.

In an account of a culture as rich and complex as that of the Raj Gonds the anthropologist must needs concentrate on certain aspects, and in this book I have given first place to the Gonds' mythology and their complex ritual, sanctioned and sustained in almost every phase by mythical precedents. This part of Gond culture is rapidly disintegrating and its study, still possible in the hills of Utnur and Asifabad Taluqs, would come too late in the more open parts of the District. Problems of psychology and the more intimate matters of the individual's life, on the other hand, are only fleetingly touched upon, but I believe that changes in this sphere are not as rapid and the time left for their study is consequently far less limited.

Although this book is not a treatise on linguistics, Gondi texts of some length have found a place in many chapters. I noted them when collecting my material and as they are the first recorded specimens of the pecular Gondi spoken in Adilabad, I do not feel justified in withholding them from the student of Indian languages. All have been checked and rechecked with several informants, but this is no guarantee of absolute accuracy, for Gonds, like the speakers of most unwritten languages, are often careless about rules of grammar and not very sensitive to slight slips in a text read out to them. The recording, moreover, is not in accordance with the exigent demands of modern phonetics, which only the trained linguist can fulfil. Consonants are used with their values in English, and vowels with their values in Italian, long and short signs being added only where confusion might otherwise arise between two words of similar sound. Diacritical signs have been used only in the consonants ṭ, ṛ and ḥ. While the dental t, rendered by the Nagri character त , is transcribed by simple t, the cerebral t rendered in Nagri by ट, is transcribed by ṭ. Similarly the soft r, र in Nagri, is transcribed r, and the hard r, ड़ in Nagri, as ṛ. The letter ḥ stands for a sound closely resembling the German ch in Bach (pronounced like the composer). This sound occurs mainly in words of Marathi origin, and in such words most Gonds not familiar with Marathi pronounce it not as sh, but h; examples are *goḥti* (word, speech) and *paḥti* (favour) pronounced in pure Marathi as *goshti* and *pashti*; but I have transcribed these and similar words as pronounced by the Gonds in the hills.

Following the spelling of the Linguistic Survey and Trench's Grammar, I have used *w* for all *v*-sounds, except in proper names occurring in the English text, and in words borrowed from Hindi in which *v* is

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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more familiar. Deviating from Trench, who employs double-consonants to indicate the shortness of the preceding vowels, thus spelling *wittana* (to run) in contrast to *witana* (to sow), I have dispensed with double-consonants; in words such as *wattana* (to put) the two consonants represent different sounds. Diacritical signs are confined to the Gondi texts, and are not used when an italicized Gondi word occurs in the English text.[1]

Those familiar with Gondi will notice that the language spoken by the Raj Gonds of Adilabad differs both from the Betul Gondi of Trench's Grammar and the Gondi spoken in South Chanda outlined by the Rev. S. B. Patwardhan.[2] A distinctive feature of Adilabad Gondi is the frequent substitution of an initial *s* for the initial *h* of both the Betul and the Chanda dialects. Thus the Adilabad Gond pronounces *surana* (to see) instead of *hurana*, and 'no' is *sile* in Adilabad but *halle* in Betul. While in the nominative the Gonds of Betul usually drop the initial *n* inherent in the first and second person of the personal pronoun and say *ana* (I) and *imma* (thou) the Gonds of Adilabad use the full form *nana* (I) and *nime* (thou).

The Gondi of southern Chanda described by Patwardhan, follows in the choice of the initial *s* and *h* the Betul usage, but has often *l* where both Adilabad and Betul Gonds pronounce *r*. Thus the Chanda Gond, like the Hill Maria says *lon* (house), while the Adilabad Gond pronounces the word clearly with *r*, *ron*.

Further comparisons between the three dialects would be beyond the scope of this work, but although Betul Gondi contains a good many words not familiar to the Gonds of Adilabad and probably *vice-versa*, and the language of South Chanda is strongly influenced by Telugu, speakers of the three dialects have on the whole no great difficulty in understanding each other.

Raj Gonds of Adilabad on the other hand find it almost impossible to understand or make themselves understood to Hill Marias of Chanda but in going through the texts given in Grigson's *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* I found that with a knowledge of Adilabad Gondi it is easy to recognize many Maria words, some being identical and most very similar in both dialects. The pronunciation and intonation seem however, to be so divergent that to those familiar with the Adilabad idiom Maria is more easily understood written than spoken. Ethnologically it would be extremely important to ascertain the affinities of those words in the Bastar dialects which do not occur in the Gondi of the Central Provinces

1. The student of Dravidian languages will find an extensive selection of Gondi texts in Nagri script in the series "Hyderabad Gondi Literature," which I am editing in collaboration with Mr. S. B. Jogalekar for use in Gond schools. So far the following numbers have been published: *Hyderabad Gondi Reading Chart for Adults* 1, 2, and 3 (Hyderabad, 1943); *First Reader for Adults* containing stories and Riddles (Hyderabad 1944); *Gondi Primer* (Hyderabad 1944); *First Gondi Reader* (Hyderabad 1946); *Three Epic Poems* (Hyderabad 1946); *The Legend of the Serpa Folk* (Hyderabad 1947); *The Myth of Manko* (Hyderabad 1946).

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and Hyderabad. If any pre-Dravidian substratum in the languages of the Hill Marias and the Murias could be discovered we would indeed be a long step nearer to the solution of the Gond problem, which cannot be solved by ethnology alone but only by a concerted effort of ethnological linguistic, and anthropometric research.

The time for such a synthesis of Gond studies has perhaps not yet come, and linguistics as well as physical anthropology have still to make their full contribution. To the ethnologist in the meantime falls the task of detailed investigations into all the regional branches of Gond culture, and such a regional study is presented in the following chapters.